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ROOSEVELT OR THE REPUBLIC!

BY THE EDITOR

FIVE weeks from the date of this number of the REVIEW sixteen millions of accredited American citizens, representing more than one hundred millions of people, will signify at the polls their preferences from among the candidates for President of the United States. Last month we presented a study of the unexampled conditions which beset an unprecedented political situation. We now submit for consideration the lesson, drawn from reduction of all circumstances to the ultimate issue, which seems to our mind irresistible as a guide to wisely discriminative and truly patriotic action.

MR. TAFT

If it were possible to re-elect President Taft, what would be the use? The incoming House of Representatives will surely be Democratic, and the Senate will just as surely be anti-Republican. Mr. Taft's continuance in office then could only involve prolongation of the government divided against itself, which has been the bane of the country during the past two years. No argument is needed to demonstrate the comparative futility and positive detriment of such administration; recent history speaks all too plainly. Witness the constant playing for partisan advantage, the incessant shifting of responsibilities, the perpetual evasions, which have

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served only to maintain turmoil and uncertainty at a time when definiteness, above all things, was most to be desired.

Such a situation invariably invites demagogic proposals which would never be countenanced if there existed a possibility of their being made effective. Moreover, it is a patent fact that Mr. Taft has forfeited the authority which ordinarily pertains to his great office. Never before have a President's vetoes been overridden so casually or a President's most solemn admonitions been treated so nonchalantly by Congress. The punitive withdrawal and subsequent exculpatory restoral of patronage evoked only derisive comment from insurgent Republicans and their constituents. Members of his own party ceased to regard the President's disfavor with apprehension; rightly or wrongly, they concluded that he had lost the hold upon the voters which a President usually retains; gradually they became convinced that open, as well as tacit, opposition to his expressed wishes would operate to their own advantage; and they acted accordingly. Coincidentally and inevitably the fealty of his positive partisans became so impaired by the President's ineffective attempts to conciliate the disaffected, that hardly a corporal's guard could be mustered to his support in the latter days of the session. Meanwhile the cohesive and well-directed Democratic majority in the House of Representatives emphasized to advantage his vacillating inconsistencies with respect to tariff legislation in particular, and missed no opportunity, in general, to harass a temperament which, though exemplary in intent, is undeniably compromising in practice. Achievement in such circumstances necessarily became impossible, and Mr. Taft finally stood forth before the people as one self-shorn of the power which they had bestowed upon him.

There he stands to-day. There he would stand upon inauguration day of next year even though crowned with the approval of a re-election. The apathy which now characterizes the Republican canvass but faintly presages the gloom which then would overshadow a disheartened country facing another period of raging, because impotent, agitation. The Democratic party, refused the reward of the first true merit it has earned in twenty years, depressed by defeat when victory was deserved, could hardly fail to bury itself in sullen antagonism. The Republican party, feeding upon the husks of a partial and temporary triumph, deprived of

the accomplishment of the days of purification, would almost inevitably follow its predecessor into oblivion. Roosevelt alone would profit from the discordance within the administration and the resentments among the people. Then, if ever, would the way be cleared to establish the illusion that government through political parties, under the Constitution, by and with the force of tradition, has broken down in fact if not in theory; that results can be attained only through the substitution of personal direction for popular rule; that the time, indeed, has come when Law must give way to the Man.

Imagine the confusion that would arise from such a situation! Consider what it has been; what it is, even at the seeming breaking of the dawn! If the present condition of common unrest in the very midst of uncommon prosperity be the consequence of complete control assumed under the most favorable auspices, what is the outcome that could be anticipated in reason from the work of warring elements begun with the setting of the sun of the party of the President?

We yield to none in respect or regard for Mr. Taft. As true an American, as honest and honorable a man, as faithful and forgiving a friend, as just a judge, as conscientious and unselfish an administrator of laws as ever lived, his record as President nevertheless is a register of failure, not because he is a man of straw, but because he is not a man of iron. It is a circumstance only, in no sense a personal discredit, that even the accession of Mr. Sherman, under the provisions of antiquated statutes, would be hardly more calamitous, in the present state of public feeling, than the re-election of President Taft.

MR. WILSON

A prime reason for installing a Democratic administration is to be found in the fact that the Democratic party has proven by its works that it is entitled to the confidence of the country and deserves a trial. Wherever it has held control during the past few years, whether in Congress, in States, or in municipalities, it has acquitted itself of the suspicion of unfitness to govern. Its vagaries have vanished; its policies have become concrete; its chosen officials have been exemplary. Unfortunate is the people whose one half continues too long in authority and whose other half feels no sense of responsibility other than that of indefinite opposi-

tion. The political strength of England lies in the transference of power at comparatively regular intervals and the consequent sharing of both burdens and honors. The Republican party would not be in the throes of despair to-day if it had been defeated more frequently in the past half-century; the Democratic party would have been resuscitated long ago but for the disease engendered in the fifties by arrogant assurance. So long as no vital principle is imperiled occasional change is desirable, not merely for the sake of change, but to compel the maintenance of high standards by political organizations in seeking the approval of the country. The probable transference of authority during the forthcoming year, then, is to be welcomed as an omen of real unity and mutual confidence.

A most important practical reason for electing a Democratic President lies in the approbation already won by the House of Representatives which virtually guarantees a Democratic Congress. Full party responsibility, as we have already noted, is a prime requisite of adequate and sober performance.

A third potent cause for aiding the Democratic party at this time is to be found in the character of its candidate and in the manner of his selection. Of all the perversions of truth adventured by Mr. Roosevelt, none is more outrageous than his brazen insistence that Mr. Wilson's nomination was effected by discredited bosses. All such men opposed him to the limit of their resources and to the very end of possibilities of successful resistance. This is a statement of fact so patent that it requires no demonstration. And it becomes a fact of mighty import when one realizes that scores of years have elapsed since a successful candidate entered upon his canvass before the people wholly free, as Governor Wilson is free, from political, pecuniary, or personal obligation to any individual or group of men. The further certainty that he will maintain his complete independence to Election Day, even if need be at the hazard of defeat, marks that which we may reasonably hope will be celebrated as the beginning of a new and more wholesome era in the history of American politics.

But it is not as an alternative, however preferable, that Governor Wilson should be regarded as a candidate. The reasons for his election are affirmative and positive, deduced from a study of his personal characteristics and from his

record as a public official. One year ago, in an endeavor to outline his worthiness as a possible recipient of the nomination, we summarized his qualifications in these words:

"Because he is thoroughly equipped, mentally and morally, by birth, training, and experience.

"A good inheritance from a virile ancestry is a great help to one who has to make his way in the world. Money has its uses in this country. Titles are not to be despised in other lands. Good breeding is desirable everywhere. Far more valuable than all combined are the attributes which crystallize into character. These constituted Wilson's heritage. . . . Brains, conscience, convictions, he inherited. Character he developed under the tutelage of the scholarly divine who was his father.

"Intelligence of the highest and rarest is peculiarly essential in a President at this time. And such is the order of Wilson's. His sense is anything but common; it is most uncommon—keen, searching, penetrating, going straight to the root of difficulty, intent upon finding, not a palliative, but a cure. In his case to a notable degree felicity of expression rests upon clarity of thought. Wilson is not an orator in the accepted meaning of the term. He does not utilize sound in public speaking. His phrases are not rounded for purely rhetorical effect, and he never declaims. Yet no American now living can hold the attention of an audience so closely. The reason is simple. He seeks the understanding rather than the admiration of his hearers. Each word conveys a definite meaning, each is selected with precision, and each finds its rightful place. His eloquence is knowledge, not art, and its convincingness lies in its simplicity. The auditor feels that a conclusion wrought by processes of logic is the crux of the utterance. And the intuition is correct. Wilson invariably has a reason for an opinion, and always has it ready for use. Although positive, he is never dogmatic. Telling why he thinks as he does is what gives himself no less than his hearer the greatest pleasure and satisfaction. That Wilson has wider information respecting theories of government than another, or perhaps any other, is not surprising. All his life has been given to its acquisition. But it is not enough to possess knowledge. One must be able to impart and elucidate its lessons. And, thanks to his experience as a teacher, few will deny that in this respect Wilson was not excelled even by Madison or by Hamilton, and stands to-day actually pre-eminent.

"Because his proposals are intelligently radical.

"Whatever is, is conservative. The referendum is required to effect a change in fundamental law. A proposal to eliminate it would be radical. So is a suggestion to extend its application to statutes. Obviously there is no disparity in principle. To any change whatsoever that militates against self-interest the opprobrious term is applied indignantly by the one who considers himself most concerned. From this viewpoint the very provision for making a change contained in the Constitution itself is radical. Again, what was radical yesterday becomes conservative to-day. To free the slaves was the most radical proposal ever made in this country, because the act not only violated property rights as guaranteed by the Constitution, but was done in frank disregard of the technical prohibition of that great instrument, under the specious guise of military necessity.

"So now with the proposal to free the people by restoring to them the power of governing themselves. That is the first and dominant article in the creed of Woodrow Wilson. Not that they are now deprived of that prerogative, as might have happened through substitution of a monarchical form of government. Nothing so obvious as that. Only this: that the process has been rendered so difficult that, instead of governing themselves, the many have come under the dominance of the few, who act by indirection and under cover of the darkness of secrecy to achieve their own purposes. Whether or not this is the actual condition may be a matter of opinion, but to those who have watched and analyzed the work of State legislatures, and more particularly that of the Federal Congress with respect to the tariff, it seems a patent fact. Moreover, the constant unrest of the masses during recent years bears evidence of their feeling that the road to effective legislation has been made too tortuous to tread.

"Wilson says: Open an avenue through the jungle.

"But how? By direct primaries for all elective offices, President and Vice-President included. By popular election of Senators. By open conventions, caucuses, and committees. By legislation in the full light of day. By full discussion of measures before the faces of the people. *If and when necessary*, by Initiative, Referendum, and Recall.

"These are the means proposed. They are radical because they involve change. *But the purpose aimed at is conservative*—conservative of republican institutions. If it be not achieved, our theory of government is belied, our faith in majority rule as the beacon-light of humanity is crushed, our confidence in the desire and willingness of a democracy to safeguard both property and personal rights is forsworn. This way, and this way only, safety lies.

"*Because he is constructive and effective.*

"Ignorance may be destructive; passion often is; intelligence never. To-day, in this country abounding in resources, energy, and skill, industry pauses, business lags, development has practically ceased. Why? The answer is universal: Uncertainty, resulting in lack of confidence. In such a condition, what is the chief need? Clearly, unless we admit failure of popular government, a revival of the recognition of mutuality of interest.

"'We have passed the time of excitement, of general complaint, of indiscriminating condemnation,' says Wilson. 'There has been hostility enough all around. What we need now is to take common counsel as to what is for common benefit, for the good of the country and of the several communities in which we live and earn our bread and also our happiness. We need frank, outspoken, friendly opinion. We need criticism which is not intended to damage, but to create a better understanding all around. To have any fear or favor in the matter is to be untrue to every standard of public duty. . . . We want to put business on a sound basis and with the assurance that when we have done it we have not destroyed anything, but have reconstructed. We want definite information as to what the law means and what it provides. We don't know now what the offense is and what the penalty is.'

"Some assume to think otherwise, but are disposed to temporize when asked to elucidate. Wilson, be it observed, never blinks a fact. Nor does he hesitate to speak as plainly and explicitly to a powerful aggregation or organization as to an individual. He does not believe that Labor can

profit by championing inefficiency and idleness through Union rules, and says so because he 'knows of no other standard by which to judge these things than the interest of the whole community,' and surely 'the laboring man cannot benefit himself by injuring the interests of the country.'

"So, too, with the captains of industry, who must come to recognize that they are 'trustees, not masters,' of properties whose management 'determines the development or decay of communities' and is 'the means of lifting or depressing the life of the whole country.' Such men 'should regard themselves as representatives of a public power' and act accordingly, because the opportunities of all are affected, their property touched, their savings absorbed, and their employment determined by these agencies.

"All Wilson asks of corporations is that they give the people honest service at a reasonable rate, not with the primary idea of squeezing and exploiting them, but with the primary idea of serving them. Nor can he perceive any advantage in dissolving corporations, however great, when so doing serves only to throw great undertakings out of gear, to the infinite loss of thousands of innocent persons, and to the great inconvenience of society as a whole. Regulation, not disintegration, is Wilson's remedy for existing evils, without regard to the 'size or might' of the corporation, 'if you will but abandon the fatuous, antiquated, and unnecessary fiction which treats it as a legal person, as a responsible individual.' He would be loath to sacrifice the 'efficiency and economy' which tend to stimulate rather than destroy competition, and he would applaud and encourage the builders of properties, however great, while sternly condemning and repressing mere manipulators who deceive and swindle the public.

"In working out these problems, moreover, 'the Democratic party must be a party of law and of service within the law. If we cannot serve the country under the law, we must ask the people to change the law. We must not take it upon ourselves to change it without their consent.'

"Upon utterances such as these Woodrow Wilson was elected Governor of New Jersey. To carry out his pledges he was obliged to win the support of a Republican Senate and to beat down the opposition of the bosses within his own party. He did both by appealing directly to the people, and placed upon the statute-books a record of constructive and effective legislation unmatched in the history of any State. Destruction followed—destruction of the control of State government by a public-service corporation; that and no other.

"Because he is free.

"We have the highest authority for the declaration that no man can serve two masters; and yet how many in public life have tried and are now trying! Not willingly, many; not wittingly, some; but perforce. One owes his advancement to a class, another to a political machine, a third to an individual. We have had such Presidents.

"Undue blame should not attach to the individual for such a performance, even though it be in effect a betrayal of trust. Custom is a mighty power, and loyalty to one or to a few is less easily disregarded than fidelity to all. Circumstances and environment, too, are most potent agencies. Few have attained great political prominence without making alliances and incurring lasting obligations in the successive stages of advancement. Nor can many withstand the influence upon perspective of association.

"It is not, then, so much a matter of condemnation of others as of congratulation upon the mere incident that Wilson is free. Whether or not, in like situations with others, covering years of office-seeking, he would have become likewise entangled, is beside the mark. It is the *fact* that is important and peculiarly fortuitous at a time when, if ever, it is desirable that a President should have the whole people as his one and only master.

"That such is indeed the case with Wilson hardly requires demonstration. It is evidenced conclusively by his every word and deed. To the leadership which effected his own nomination for Governor upon a platform guaranteeing specific reforms he stood ready to accord due recognition, but when that leadership came into conflict with faithful performance of public duties he could not and did not hesitate to choose and to serve the one master to whom he had pledged his own allegiance. He did not attempt to weigh obligations, the one against the other; he did not temporize nor try to harmonize. The straight and narrow path pointed out to him in his youth was the only one he knew—and he took it, disdainful of personal criticism and heedless of personal consequences. That exceptional credit should be accorded him for so doing does not follow necessarily. The forces impelling his conduct were inherited conscience and developed character, agencies, however, as valuable in the public service as they happily have proven to be irresistible in the man.

"It is as a highly important fact, too, rather than as a matter of personal merit, that Wilson's environment, associations, and sphere of endeavor have tended to keep high his ideals, to broaden his vision, and to intensify his resolution. To have achieved great prominence and the rich emoluments which accompany success at the bar would have been a meritorious performance and worthy of all praise, but in no way commensurate with the advantages he derived from enforced industry, from enforced frugality, from enforced association and sympathy with those who, like himself, were compelled to earn their bread and rear their children with the product of brain and toil.

"Such necessity and such environment make for that freedom of understanding which is no less the requisite of a great magistracy than freedom from political obligation to any except to all.

"Because he is a Democrat.

"Government *by* as well as of and for the people was first proposed and put into practice by Thomas Jefferson, who thereupon became the first real Democrat. As a student and philosopher he beheld danger in heeding the customs of the past and restricting to a class, however capable, the possession of actual governing powers. He felt the need of broadening the base of government to insure the stability of the structure of democracy. To do so involved implicit faith in the wisdom and sense of justice in the entire body politic. But this he had, and, acting upon his judgment, endeavored by precept and example to instil the theory of true democracy into the minds of the people. Denounced as a radical, even as a revolutionist, he grew stronger and more determined under opposition, until what had been only an impulse originally became a passionate conviction. Reaction followed as a matter of course. Habit of mind is not changed permanently with ease. But the spirit which inspired Jefferson could not be killed. It flashed forth incongruously for a time in Jackson, then waned through long years, until it burst into flame

in Lincoln, only to subside again in a period of great development and common prosperity, until there arose from apathy and indifference another governing class—the oligarchy of the Republican party—which has really ruled the Nation as with a rod of iron, even through two administrations which were nominally Democratic and one as spasmodic as Jackson's, to the present day, and is breaking down at last only under the added weight of heedless greed.

“The time is ripe and the people are now ready for a fresh manifestation of the spirit of true democracy, which alone can safeguard personal and property rights by perpetuating the Republic. It is to be found in Woodrow Wilson, the natural successor by birth, instinct, training, ability, courage, and *faith in the people* of Thomas Jefferson.”

These were true words then; they are yet more surely true now, as is evidenced by Governor Wilson's unswerving fidelity to his best instincts, by his studied aloofness from political manipulation, by his deliberate refusals to temporize or compromise in the tempestuous days immediately preceding the convention, by his serene acquiescence in presumed defeat during the proceedings, by his calm yet appreciative acceptance of the unexpected result, and by the telling restraint which has marked his every subsequent utterance.

If it be the fact, as we believe, that Mr. Wilson was not the first choice of the great majority of Democrats at the time of the convention, and yet, if the candidate were to be named now, not a voice would be raised in opposition to his nomination, no further proof is required of his growth in the estimation of his fellow-men or of his supreme capacity to meet satisfactorily any test to which he may be subjected in the crucible of time. No good cause can be shown why any true Democrat *should not* or why any patriotic Republican *may not* conscientiously and with full knowledge cast his ballot for Woodrow Wilson to become President of the United States.

MR. ROOSEVELT

If Roosevelt should be accorded a third term, what would happen? “I know of no way of judging the future,” said Patrick Henry to the Virginia convention, “but by the past.” It is a true test which, however, in this instance, despite the proverbial shortness of men's memories, need hardly be applied. The salient movements in the seamy record of Roosevelt's advancement, from a solemn pledge to follow the prudent course marked by his predecessor to the domineering designation of his own successor, are still

so fresh in mind that the scathing indictment which would ensue from their recapitulation readily forms itself.

We are deterred, moreover, from painting the picture in historic detail by a sense of shame. The first twenty-five Presidents of the United States possessed talents in varying degree. Some were less forceful, some less courageous, some less broad-minded, some less far-seeing than others, but all were conscious of the dignity of the great position, all were deeply impressed by cognizance of their grave responsibilities, all recognized their own limitations, all were appreciative of the influence for good or ill of their personal examples, all strove assiduously and successfully to exemplify the qualities which inhere in men of honor and breeding.

Roosevelt was the first President whose chief personal characteristic was mendacity, the first to glory in duplicity, the first braggart, the first bully, the first betrayer of a friend who ever occupied the White House. It is with distaste amounting almost to nausea that we are forced, in performance of public duty, to recall his breaking of his solemn pledge to the American people to observe the most vital of their great traditions; his disingenuous evasions; his brazen disregard of his own written promise; his blatant professions of exceptional probity at the very moment when he was bartering his official influence for large sums of money to be used in the corruption of voters; his boisterous and profane denials of accusations which he knew to be founded in fact; his precipitation of a panic by unconscionable mouthings; his cynical rejoicing at pecuniary losses which he had brought upon a few without heed of the havoc which he had wrought for the many; his hasty and affrighted yielding to pressure exerted by interested persons when he became convinced that common calamity was impending; his flagrant violation of his oath of office when he agreed to suspend the enforcement of specific laws; his deliberate stoppage of prosecution of a trust which the official inquiry ordered by himself had shown to be guilty, at the behest of one who had added the savings of the poor to his corruption fund and who continues to be his chief supporter; his arbitrary discharge, for personal reasons, of honorable prosecutors who persisted in proceeding against a confessed rebater; his vituperative assaults upon trade combinations whose numbers he was permitting simultaneously and covertly to multiply; his shameful abetting of a revolution in

violation of a solemn treaty, to the everlasting dishonor of his country, to gratify his craving of personal glory; his violent denunciation of a publicist as an accomplice in the assassination of his predecessor, only later to welcome him, for political reasons, to a chair beneath the presentment of that martyred President; his savage condemnation as crooks and scoundrels of just judges who refused to hound journalists to jail through misinterpretation of the law; his constant vilifying of bosses in public while secretly strengthening the hands of all who subserved his wishes; his brutal refusal of justice to a faithful and dying public servant whom he had wantonly wronged; his virtual stigmatizing of a great Archbishop as a falsifier of spoken words; his ferocious treatment of a helpless woman pleading for consideration; his blaring of trumpets; his gun-carrying; his exploiting of the language of the prize-ring in the White House; his sickening repetitions of the personal pronoun in public speeches and official communications; his cuttle-fish politics; his shameless demagoguery; his perpetual lying; all these are spots upon the light from the lamp of experience to which we would but cannot blind our eyes.

Of Roosevelt's conduct since he forsook the White House we need not speak. His bloody deeds in Africa, his lecturing of foreign potentates, his attempt to make political capital through insolent disregard of common amenities in Rome, his denunciation of the President as a thief and a pickpocket to distract attention from his own attempts at wholesale robbery, his brazen *volte-face* on reciprocity to catch the votes of a class, his silly baiting of equal suffragists, his yawping about bosses while eating from the hand of the worst political brigand of his day, his profiting from the plunder which his own official co-operation enabled his most intimate political associate to wring from the American farmers, his outrageously false accounts of the nomination of his Democratic opponent, his insidious wheedling of the specially favored few, his open pandering to the mob in the name of righteousness for the sake of self; these are symptoms of distinguishing personal traits too recently displayed and too familiar to call for recital.

Mr. Taft, as we have shown from the record, would be shorn of the power of accomplishment by the antagonism of both Houses of Congress. Clearly, since less than fifty Progressives have appeared as candidates for the na-

tional Legislature, Roosevelt would face a yet stronger opposition; but there the analogy ends. Mr. Taft recognizes the limitations fixed by the Constitution upon executive authority; Roosevelt makes plain by his words and has proven by his acts that he holds them in derision.

He not only avows openly, in flat contradiction of the Constitution, that all power not textually conferred upon Congress and the courts is vested in the President, but he also boasts of encroachments already made upon designated prerogatives. He "took Panama and let Congress debate afterward"; he removed official records in the case of the Harvester Company from the Government department and sequestered them in the White House to prevent their submission to the Senate; he created an army of spies at enormous expense without authority of law; he partially nullified the pure-food law by appointing a "referee board" to pass upon the use of adulterants; he took sixteen millions a year from the public treasury for pensions by "executive order"; he now proposes, if elected, to designate a tariff board with "real power" to usurp the functions of Congress and compel the manufacturer to put into the pay-envelope of the workman such proportion of the "prize money" wrung from the customer as *he* may consider equitable.

The lawfulness of this or any like proceeding he would not consider even as a question. He would act first, as in the Panama case, and let the courts adjudicate later. If his performance should be pronounced illegal he would seek a popular recall of the judicial decision. He would take the oath to "protect, preserve, and defend the Constitution," just as he solemnly affirmed that he would not accept a third term, but he would consider himself freed from obligation to observe it by his own published declaration that "in great crises it may be necessary to overrun Constitutions, to disregard statutes." He would hold, with certain justification, that he had been chosen by the people to be their personal tribune, with the full understanding upon their part that he should rule on their behalf in the interest of social justice, unhampered by technical restrictions, unfettered by antiquated documents, and answerable only to the majority who, with eyes open, had designated him as their spokesman and delegated agent.

To any who might condemn his arbitrary acts he could

and would respond, with show of reason, that he was guilty of no false pretense, that his scorn of Congress was well known, that his contempt of courts had been thoroughly advertised, that his disdain of nominal monarchs had been forcefully asserted, that his disregard of law had been made manifest in word and by deed; and that, therefore, the sovereign people, in electing him as their President, had constituted him their viceregent, with full authority to put into effect the remedial measures which he had promised to initiate on their account. To this end he would hold himself not free, but bounden, to utilize to the fullest extent, not only the greatest power possessed by any human being, but all other conceivable means, whether of persuasion or of force.

Is there any rational doubt that this is the attitude which would be promptly, truculently, and in large measure justifiably assumed by the supreme egoist of his day when once again raised to the pinnacle of fame and power by the declared will of the American people? If not, there exists little need of speculation respecting consequences. By virtue of their own heedless or uncomprehending decree registered on November 5th, Inauguration Day of 1913 would mark the beginning of a determined effort to establish a benevolent despotism over American freemen. Those who jest at this as a vain imagining either know not what they do or wilfully veil their eyes.

It is not the foreign war so commonly anticipated as a consequence of Roosevelt's accession to the dizzy height of unrestrained authority that makes for dread; it is the civil strife that would almost inevitably ensue from patriotic resistance to usurpation by a half-mad genius at the head of the proletariat.

There is no escape from this conclusion in the main. Grant, for consideration's sake, that our fears be exaggerated. Assume absurdly the growth of a restraining influence upon a mind which has already become so riotous that it has repelled every sober counselor. Admit the remote possibility of a return to the humbleness befitting a finite being. Anticipate, if able, the softening of a temperament which has become so hardened through raging disappointment that it could not fail to be exultant in realized ambition! Imagine, if sufficiently gifted, a new and unheralded Roosevelt embodying the calmness of Washington, the patience of

Lincoln, the caution of McKinley, and the firmness of Cleveland!

What then? Could Roosevelt, if he would, quell the spirits of revolt against a government of checks and balances which he himself had summoned from the depths of discontent, if once he were raised to the topmost wave? Never once in his innumerable declarations has he so much as intimated that he would urge his fantastic proposals upon Congress. Never once has he said that he would seek the co-operation of the courts. On the contrary, he flatly asserts upon all occasions that he would either disregard or bulldoze the one and would ignore or override the other.

It is upon his avowed and reiterated judgment that our fundamental doctrines have become obsolete and upon his definite pledge to supplant them with others of his own making that Roosevelt seeks the suffrages of the people. The method is not new. It had long thriven among the false teachers of Israel when God commanded His children:

"If there arise among you a prophet or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder,

"And the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them;

"Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you."

It continued to find expression from time to time throughout the ages.

"My person," declared the Bourbon pretender, "is nothing. My principle is everything. France will see the end of all trials as soon as she will understand this. I am the pilot who alone is able to lead the vessel into the port. France cannot perish, for our Saviour still loves His Frenchmen, and if God has decreed the salvation of a nation He sees to it that the scepter of justice is placed in such hands only as are strong enough to carry it."

The feigned self-abnegation, the cool assumption of divine designation, the insistence upon personal possession of the scepter of justice, the very words uttered by the Comte de Chambord in 1873 are those of Roosevelt to-day. He is nothing; his principle is everything; he is the pilot who alone can guide the ship; to his strong hands and to no others must be consigned the scepter of social justice, to the end that the dying nation shall be saved.

Can it lie within the range of possibility that the intelligent American people will grant the appeal which the ignorant French peasantry rejected with scorn? Incredulous of danger as we may be, are we willing to take so much as a chance of inviting a struggle for the very life of the Republic at the instigation of an American Boulanger who, uncontent with honors equal to those conferred upon the Father of His Country, stretches forth eager hands for the glory of a Diaz or a Cæsar and shouts continually, "If they want the sword, then we will give them the sword"?

Roosevelt or the Republic? That is the issue which transcends all others. It cannot be evaded or left in abeyance. It must be answered on November 5th, no less by Republicans, whose party and whose President have been robbed of the possibility of success by the ingrate whom they had cherished, than by Democrats whose fealty to democracy has been demonstrated by their selection of a standard-bearer who walks in the footsteps of Jefferson.

CONCLUSION

We demonstrated last month by thorough analysis of existing conditions that President Taft cannot be re-elected. The fact then stated is now admitted by all competent observers, partisans and non-partisans alike, who can be induced to express their real belief.

We declared our firm conviction then and reiterate it now that Mr. Roosevelt has practically no chance of obtaining a majority in the Electoral College.

We emphasized our hope and asserted our belief that Mr. Wilson would win at the polls. Subsequent happenings—notably the elections in Maine and Vermont—have strengthened that judgment.

But it would be a folly and a crime to rest upon an assumption, however well grounded, as to how sixteen millions of men will vote upon a certain day. The election of Roosevelt would be a national calamity of incalculable magnitude. The utter chaos which would ensue from no election by the people could have but one of three results:

1. The election of Wilson, by the aid of the votes of Republican Representatives.
2. The succession of Sherman.
3. The temporary accession of Knox, to be followed by another national election in 1913.

Whatever the final outcome, there could be no escape from confusion such as the country has experienced but once in its history. Confidence would be shaken; business would be paralyzed; demagogism would become rampant; constitutional government would be put to severest test; and American institutions would be gravely imperiled.

Roosevelt would be a potent, if not indeed a determining, factor in a situation whose aggravation might easily end in catastrophe, and which can be averted only *by the election by the people* of Wilson—the only candidate who can possibly obtain a majority of electoral votes.

There can be no question of the plain duty of all patriotic Republicans in this emergency. It is to join with equally patriotic Democrats in making assurance doubly sure. They saved their party from Roosevelt in convention. Now let them help to save the country from the same menace at the polls. No man can foresee the real and ultimate effect of a vote for Taft, but—

A VOTE FOR WILSON IS A VOTE FOR WILSON.

THE EDITOR.